

The ROTTEN and TOTTERING STATE of the POPULAR PART of the  
BRITISH CONSTITUTION demonstrated—By J. MASSIE.

No. I.—Acres of Land, Number of taxable Houses, and Representatives.									
Counties					A Acres of Land	B—houses in Country	C Repref.	D—houses in M. Towns	E Repref.
Bedford	—	—	—	—	254,698	6,500	2	1,603	2
Berks	—	—	—	—	447,160	8,991	2	2,217	7
Buckingham	—	—	—	—	487,665	9,174	2	2,818	12
Cambri ge	—	—	—	—	546,694	9,357	2	3,793	4
Chester	—	—	—	—	726,581	12,749	2	3,127	2
Cornwall	—	—	—	—	876,416	10,025	2	2,892	42
Cumberland	—	—	—	—	995,345	6,579	2	1,096	4
Derby	—	—	—	—	682,026	10,805	2	2,108	2
Devon	—	—	—	—	1,668,856	31,390	2	13,843	24
Dorset	—	—	—	—	735,320	13,673	2	3,980	18
Durham	—	—	—	—	793,932	7,241	2	2,134	2
Essex	—	—	—	—	1,071,648	22,356	2	7,096	6
Gloucester	—	—	—	—	825,902	16,243	2	3,941	6
Hartford	—	—	—	—	377,251	10,618	2	1,799	4
Hereford	—	—	—	—	546,907	9,254	2	1,681	6
Huntington	—	—	—	—	186,707	4,721	2	798	2
Kent	—	—	—	—	1,050,761	15,747	2	9,871	16
Lancaster	—	—	—	—	1,238,321	22,270	2	4,849	12
Leicester	—	—	—	—	604,241	9,637	2	2,327	2
Lincoln	—	—	—	—	1,629,426	25,780	2	5,824	10
Middlesex	—	—	—	—	187,560	12,050	2	67,568	6
Monmouth	—	—	—	—	309,473	4,586	2	1,062	1
Norfolk	—	—	—	—	1,182,479	22,235	2	11,084	10
Northampton	—	—	—	—	647,294	12,249	2	3,158	7
Northumberland	—	—	—	—	1,275,620	6,545	2	3,838	6
Nottingham	—	—	—	—	513,633	9,398	2	2,492	6
Oxford	—	—	—	—	479,556	8,790	2	3,901	7
Rutland	—	—	—	—	88,025	1,942	2	318	0
Salop	—	—	—	—	933,323	12,541	2	3,597	10
Somerfet	—	—	—	—	999,395	27,682	2	12,554	16
Southampton	—	—	—	—	1,067,812	15,742	2	4,462	24
Stafford	—	—	—	—	812,901	11,042	2	2,646	8
Suffolk	—	—	—	—	1,025,611	21,878	2	6,261	14
Surry	—	—	—	—	414,550	10,421	2	13,964	12
Suffex	—	—	—	—	929,273	12,850	2	3,029	26
Warwick	—	—	—	—	614,898	8,825	2	3,141	4
Westmoreland	—	—	—	—	514,724	3,841	2	690	2
Wilts	—	—	—	—	900,500	14,600	2	3,645	32
Worcester	—	—	—	—	527,725	8,696	2	3,512	7
York	—	—	—	—	3,668,499	60,940	2	14,827	23
Anglesea	—	—	—	—	224,859	5,097	1	71	1
Brecknock	—	—	—	—	490,213	4,089	1	530	1
Cardigan	—	—	—	—	445,881	2,608	1	245	1
Carmarthen	—	—	—	—	548,825	3,431	1	508	1
Carnarvon	—	—	—	—	436,929	3,137	1	677	1
Denbigh	—	—	—	—	434,798	2,782	1	818	1
Flint	—	—	—	—	170,935	1,909	1	128	1
Glamorgan	—	—	—	—	501,936	5,480	1	672	1
Merioneth	—	—	—	—	440,126	2,403	1	224	0
Montgomery	—	—	—	—	522,183	4,711	1	754	1
Pembroke	—	—	—	—	367,660	3,272	1	674	2
Radnor	—	—	—	—	241,270	2,678	1	229	1
Totals in England and Wales in the Reign of K. William III.					37,664,348	591,060	92	249,076	421

From hence it appears, that all the Freeholders of *England* and *Wales*, who possess Nine Tenths of the Property thereof, send only 92 Representatives to Parliament; which is but One Fourth Part so many Representatives as are sent to Parliament by 180 Borough Towns, though those Towns contain scarcely One Seventh Part of the whole Number of taxable Houses, and are for the most Part inhabited by People of very little Property.



No. II.  
The Number of taxable Houses in Country  
or Village Parishes, to each County  
Representative now sent to Parliament.

	A	B
	No. Houses to each Re- presentative	Indexes or Ex- ponents
Rutland	971	1
Flint	1,909	1
Westmoreland	1,920	1
Monmouth	2,293	2
Huntington	2,360	2
Merioneth	2,403	2
Cardigan	2,608	2
Radnor	2,678	2
Denbigh	2,782	2
Carnarvon	3,137	3
Bedford	3,250	3
Northumberland	3,272	3
Pembroke	3,272	3
Cumberland	3,289	3
Carmarthen	3,431	3
Durham	3,620	3
Brecknock	4,089	4
Montgomery	4,211	4
Worcester	4,348	4
Oxford	4,395	4
Warwick	4,412	4
Berks	4,495	4
Buckingham	4,587	4
Hereford	4,627	4
Cambridge	4,678	4
Nottingham	4,699	4
Leicester	4,818	4
Cornwall	5,012	5
Anglesea	5,097	5
Surry	5,210	5
Hartford	5,309	5
Derby	5,402	5
Glamorgan	5,480	5
Stafford	5,521	5
Middlesex	6,025	6
Northampton	6,124	6
Salop	6,270	6
Chester	6,374	6
Suffex	6,425	6
Dorset	6,836	7
Wilts	7,300	7
Southampton	7,871	8
Kent	7,873	8
Gloucester	8,121	8
Suffolk	10,939	11
Norfolk	11,117	11
Lancaster	11,135	11
Essex	11,178	11
Lincoln	12,890	13
Somerset	13,841	14
Devon	15,695	16
York	30,470	31

No. III.  
The Number of taxable Houses in Cities or  
in Market Towns, to each City or Borough  
Representative now sent to Parliament.

	A	B
	No. Houses to each Re- presentative	Indexes or Ex- ponents
Rutland	0	0
Merioneth	0	0
Cornwall	68	1
Anglesea	71	1
Wilts	143	1
Suffex	116	1
Flint	128	1
Southampton	185	2
Dorset	221	2
Radnor	229	3
Buckingham	234	3
Cardigan	245	3
Cumberland	274	4
Hereford	280	4
Berks	316	4
Stafford	330	4
Pembroke	337	4
Westmoreland	345	5
Salop	359	5
Huntington	399	5
Lancaster	404	5
Nottingham	445	6
Suffolk	447	6
Hartford	449	6
Northampton	451	6
Worcester	501	7
Carmarthen	508	7
York	529	7
Brecknock	530	7
Oxford	557	8
Devon	576	8
Lincoln	582	8
Kent	616	9
Northumberland	639	9
Gloucester	656	9
Glamorgan	672	9
Carnarvon	677	9
Montgomery	754	11
Somerset	784	11
Warwick	785	11
Bedford	801	11
Denbigh	818	12
Cambridge	948	13
Derby	1,054	15
Monmouth	1,062	15
Durham	1,067	15
Norfolk	1,108	16
Leicester	1,163	17
Surry	1,163	17
Essex	1,182	17
Chester	1,563	22
Middlesex	11,261	165

According to the Constitution of England, every Freeholder therein is understood to have, and to exercise by his Representative, an equal Right and Share of Concern in making Laws, laying Taxes, appropriating public Monies, &c. But that great Right, upon which the Preservation of Liberty and Property doth fundamentally depend, is so far warped from Equality, that One Freeholder in the County of Rutland hath, by his Representative, as great a Share in making Laws, laying Taxes, appropriating public Monies, &c. as 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. to 31 Freeholders in other Counties have by their Representatives. And the Holders of taxed Houses in the Cities and Market Towns of different Counties, are represented in a far more unequal Manner, though they contribute equally to the Support of Government by their Purse and Swords; for One such Householder in the County of Cornwall hath, by his Representative, as great a Share in making Laws, laying Taxes, appropriating public Monies, &c. as 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. to 165 such Householders in other Counties have by their Representatives. All which Disproportions are expressed by the Figures called Indexes or Exponents in the Columns B. B.





No. IV.  
The Number of Knights of the Shire which now represent the Freeholders of each County in Parliament, and the Number of such Knights whereby the said Freeholders should be so represented.

	A Present Number	B True Number
Bedford	2	4
Berks	2	6
Buckingham	2	6
Cambridge	2	6
Chester	2	8
Cornwall	2	6
Cumberland	2	4
Derby	2	7
Devon	2	19
Dorset	2	8
Durham	2	5
Essex	2	14
Gloucester	2	10
Hartford	2	7
Hereford	2	6
Huntington	2	3
Kent	2	10
Lancaster	2	14
Leicester	2	6
Lincoln	2	16
Middlesex	2	8
Monmouth	2	3
Norfolk	2	14
Northampton	2	7
Northumberland	2	4
Nottingham	2	6
Oxford	2	6
Rutland	2	1
Salop	2	8
Somerset	2	17
Southampton	2	10
Stafford	2	7
Suffolk	2	13
Surry	2	7
Sussex	2	8
Warwick	2	5
Westmoreland	2	3
Wilts	2	9
Worcester	2	6
York	2	37
Anglesea	1	3
Brecknock	1	3
Cardigan	1	2
Carmarthen	1	2
Carnarvon	1	2
Denbigh	1	2
Flint	1	1
Glamorgan	1	4
Merioneth	1	2
Montgomery	1	3
Pembroke	1	2
Radnor	1	2

Knights of the Shire { now sent 92 . . .  
                                  { should be sent . . . 372

No. V.  
The Number of Representatives now sent to Parliament for the Cities or Market Towns of each County, and the Number of Representatives which the Taxed Householders in Cities or Market Towns should so send.

	A Present Number	B True Number
Bedford	2	1
Berks	7	1
Buckingham	12	1
Cambridge	4	2
Chester	2	2
Cornwall	42	2
Cumberland	4	1
Derby	2	1
Devon	24	9
Dorset	18	3
Durham	2	1
Essex	6	4
Gloucester	6	2
Hartford	4	1
Hereford	6	1
Huntington	2	0
Kent	16	6
Lancaster	12	3
Leicester	2	1
Lincoln	10	3
Middlesex	6	41
Monmouth	1	0
Norfolk	10	6
Northampton	7	2
Northumberland	6	2
Nottingham	6	1
Oxford	7	2
Rutland	0	0
Salop	10	2
Somerset	16	8
Southampton	24	2
Stafford	8	1
Suffolk	14	4
Surry	12	8
Sussex	26	2
Warwick	4	2
Westmoreland	2	0
Wilts	32	2
Worcester	7	2
York	28	9
Anglesea	1	0
Brecknock	1	0
Cardigan	1	0
Carmarthen	1	0
Carnarvon	1	0
Denbigh	1	0
Flint	1	0
Glamorgan	1	0
Merioneth	0	0
Montgomery	1	0
Pembroke	2	0
Radnor	1	0

City and Market Town { now sent 421 . . .  
Representatives . . . { should be sent . . . 141

In these two States, the true Number of Knights of the Shire, and the true Number of City or Market Town Representatives, which each County ought to send to Parliament, are determined by the Number of taxable Houses to each Representative, upon a general Medium throughout all *England* and *Wales*; which Medium Number of Houses is 1,637; but upon looking into several printed Poll-books for County Elections, and upon making various Inquiries concerning other Counties, I find, that the general Number of Freeholders is to the Number of taxable Houses in Village or Country Parishes, in the Proportion of *One* to *Three*; so that the Medium Number of Freeholders to each Knight of the Shire, when 372 such Knights shall be elected, would be about 500, scarcely varying 100 either Way, excepting in the County of *Kent*, where the ancient *Saxon* Custom of *Gavel Kind* hath increased the Number of Freeholders to near *One Half* the Number of taxable Houses.



*To the Freeholders, and taxed Householders of Great Britain.*

GENTLEMEN,

**H**IS most gracious Majesty having at his Accession to the Crown been pleased to declare, that He would strengthen the Constitution both in Church and State, there is all imaginable Reason to hope and expect, that nothing will be wanting on the Part of His Majesty to *strengthen* the popular Part of the Constitution, which the preceding States shew to be in a most rotten and tottering Condition: it therefore is incumbent on ye the Citizens of London, and on ye the Freeholders and taxed Householders of the several Counties of *England* and *Wales* respectively, to take into your immediate Consideration what Sort of Addresses or other Applications to the Throne, will be proper for effecting an equal, just, and constitutional Parliamentary Representation of ye according to your respective Numbers in your several Counties; it being contrary to the natural Rights of Mankind, and to the fundamental Principles of the *British* Constitution, that a Freeholder or a taxed Householder who live in one County of *England* should, by their Representatives, have as great a Share in making Laws, laying Taxes, appropriating public Monies, &c. as Ten, Twenty, Thirty, or more of the like Freeholders or taxed Householders in other Counties have, by their Representatives, to make and do the like Things; and it requires but little thinking to find out, that this fundamental Injustice so done to the People of *England*, by vesting the far lesser and almost poorest Part of them with a Power of electing the much greater Number of Representatives, is the real Foundation and Source of every National Evil that the People have laboured under for a long Series of Years.

From hence have sprung all that Corruption and Bribery whereby great Numbers of very unfit Men have each of them become nominal Representatives of Ten Thousand free and uncorrupted *Britons*, but the real Representatives of only 50 or 100 needy Families, whose Ignorance and Indigence made them an easy Prey to Corruption.

From such corrupting and bribing in poor rotten Borough Towns hath followed the Establishment of numberless Places and Pensions, out of the Property of the People, to gratify such Men as can discover Infallibility in every Minister, and therefore always vote for the Measures of those who get Places, Pensions, or other Gratuities for them.

From such Methods of securing an Opinion of Ministerial Infallibility, hath arisen an unconstitutional Power, whereby Ministers have sometimes dictated to their Sovereign, at other Times have taken with Safety and continued with Impunity very oppressive and destructive Measures, alike contemning public Weal and common Justice.

From the safe and immensely lucrative Exercise of such unconstitutional Power by principal Ministers, secondary Ministers have been emboldened to follow the wicked and nationally ruinous Example, whereby the People are burthened with maintaining on Half Pay great Numbers of Naval and Military Officers who might have served instead of those appointed.

From secondary Ministers the Exercise of such unconstitutional Power hath descended to their Creatures, insomuch that some from being Shoe-cleaners and Footmen have hacknied upward in the Ways of Iniquity till they created Dependencies on them at the public Charge, and aped the Minister at the Expence of the Nation.

From Ministers and their Creatures these Evils have spread collaterally into the Navy, Army, &c. where the Support of such unconstitutional Power hath been found the shortest Way to Preferment, and surest Skreen for Misconduct, while Men more able and willing to serve their King and Country in the like Stations have languished in Obscurity.

From the Navy, Army, &c. Endeavours have been wickedly used to spread the Contagion into private Families of great Property, by Means of profligate and abandoned Men who have had ministerial Countenance and Encouragement to seduce and ruin wealthy and well governed Families, by setting Examples of insupportable Luxury, Gaming, Debauchery, &c.

From wealthy private Families Endeavours have lately been used to promote Corruption and Debauchery among labouring People, by a Suspension of those Pains and Penalties which are legally inflictible upon the Parents of Bastard Children, and by maintaining such and other Children at the public Charge, against the Laws of *England* and of *Nature*.

From the Progress thus wickedly made, Ministers have been emboldened to more strongly fortify their unconstitutional Power, by suffering a wicked, extirpating, and enslaving Race of Men, whose proper Place of Residence is in the *West Indies*, to levy upon the People in the exorbitant Prices of Sugar, Rum, &c. One Million of Pounds yearly, contrary to common Justice.

Thus strengthened by a Juncto of such Men, grown formidable by iniquitous Means, Ministers who dared to suffer such trampling upon the common Rights of *Britons*, have also dared to propose oppressive and otherwise destructive Taxes, when it was notorious that the public Wants might have been supplied without oppressing the industrious Poor, or injuring any Branch of our Manufacturies or Trade.

From the immense Wealth so vilely acquired by those Enslavers of Mankind, and from the lately increasing Numbers of them in this Island, there is all imaginable Reason to fear, that the rotten Borough Towns, which now deprive ye of Three Parts in Four of your natural and just Share in making Laws, laying Taxes, &c. will elect a Majority of those Men for Representatives.

Under such deplorable Circumstances, it is easy for ye to guess what would soon become of your Liberty, by considering who have got so much of your Lawful Property; for the Preservation of Property constitutes the very Essence of Liberty;—and if not prevented by an equal Parliamentary Representation, those who have dared so to get your Property may then destroy your Liberty, and dictate to the Throne.

Be not deceived, Gentlemen, by the prostitute Harangues which those Miscreants and their Abettors make in Praise of *Liberty* and a *Militia*, for their Actions have shewn them to be *Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing*; but remember that your most gracious Sovereign hath of his own Free Will, princely Wisdom, and Goodness set open the Door that leads to the Redress of these Grievances.



*Westminster, March 12, 1761.*—J. MASSIE.



